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THE SPIRIT OF MAY-DAY SOLIDARITY THAT IS NEEDED

For the very reasons that all the radical publications are filled this month with accounts of the origin of May-Day, the first battle of labor for the eight-hour day, inspired by the Anarchist movement in 1886, and in which battle the anarchist movement had lost five of its best comrades (judicially murdered)—it is not at all amiss to dwell rather at this time—on the tragical lack of solidarity that pervades the revolutionary movement.

The persecutions of rebels against injustice has become so enormous and common throughout the world that a libertarian publication lacks even sufficient space to merely record the facts of all such instances. Likewise, the impotence with which the revolutionary movements are nowadays coping with these attacks upon it can best be understood and fully realized by some striking examples of similar events in this country.

In the year of 1927 the world witnessed the outrageous judicial murdering of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti by the rulers of America. The same plutocrats have been keeping incarcerated for the last nineteen years Warren K. Billings and Thomas J. Mooney. Nine framed Negro boys have been facing death for the last five years. Eight youthful men and women are subject to serve fifteen years imprisonment in California for the crime of attempting to organize exploited workers. Scores of men are facing exile from this country for daring to hold opinions that challenge the present reign of thievery. And wherever workers go on strike there appears the police, the soldiers, the "national guards," and judges, all ready to drawn in blood, or defeat by any means, the struggles of the workers for the right to well-being, security and happiness.

I know of no country where to a more or lesser degree similar persecutions are not the order of the day. If all these persecutions throughout the world denote, as they do, the existence of virile and militant movements, they at the same time reveal a state of utter helplessness and inability to cope with the resulting persecutions, and which fact ought to call the serious attention of rebels of every social movement that strives for a new society.

Up to nineteen years ago there existed throughout the world such a thing as *Solidarity*. The outrages of a czarist regime could bring forth such world-wide protests that not even that moribund clique could ignore. Spain witnessed a similar resentment when at the behest of the Catholic church it murdered Francisco Ferrer. When American plutocracy attempted to murder Meyer, Haywood and Pettibone, the resentment throughout the world and of every lover of justice in this country was enough to defeat it. Every effort of the former czarist regime to obtain extradition from this country of renowned revolutionists who had escaped from its clutches ended mostly in failures. (Nowadays this government itself is exiling men to certain imprisonment, if not actual death.)

In those days no one was shouting the need for a "united front." Socialist or Syndicalist, Liberal or Anarchist, none were concerned with the social or political belief of any rebel that faced the enemy of Justice and Liberty. The issue of Injustice was alone powerful enough to rally every one holding dear the principles of justice and freedom.

What has then happened during the last nineteen years to contribute in bringing about the destruction of this grandiose spirit of *SOLIDARITY* that has up till then been the accepted guiding spirit of the revolutionary movement throughout the world?

I know very well that May Day ought to be the day of attempting to inspire and arouse the minds of the oppressed to at last arise in the revolutionary struggle for their own liberation from political and economic slavery.

Up to nineteen years ago no one could or would think of any other spirit emanating from a libertarian publication.

But this spirit that once was prevalent in the ranks of the oppressed has been gradually undermined and brought to a point where because of May Day one is forced to, in place of writing an inspired call to rebellion, to instead stop at taking stock and an accounting as to how it came about that this once existent, beautiful and inspiring spirit of *SOLIDARITY* in the hour of need should now be lying prostrate and immovable. By doing this, I believe, one may truly serve in aiding to bring back that spirit which must prevail before any revolutionary movement can once again become an effective force for coping with the manifold injustices which the exploiters and their rulers are inflicting today upon suffering mankind.

I have no desire or intention of indulging in calling names this or that group that may be more or less responsible for this

critical state of affairs in which all the revolutionary forces of the world find themselves today. Hate and distrust cannot bring back that much needed spirit of solidarity which is so noticeably absent today. A fair and unbiased presentation of the facts, may and should appeal to the reason of all lovers and fighters for justice and liberty.

* * *

With the best of intentions one is liable to commit the worst of blunders. The revolution of 1917 that brought an end to the reign of czarism in Russia brought likewise about the open breach between the socialism of compromise as personified by Kerensky and the one of non-compromise as represented by Lenin, a break that finally led to all the percussions which threw the revolutionary movement throughout the world into the most chaotic state of affairs that it ever was in. The Bolshevik triumph over the Kerensky regime unloosened, and undoubtedly with much justification, all that hatred that had accumulated itself within the souls and minds of the revolutionary-minded socialists as an aftermath to the betrayal, collapse and bankruptcy that the socialists in the parliaments of Europe (most notably in Germany) enacted during the last world war.

It is doubtful if any Bolshevik thinker has ever realized that the compromising position that the socialists holding governmental offices occupied in 1914, and thereafter, by supporting the war, had really originated way back in the 1840s when Karl Marx brought forth for the first time in the history of the then famous First International the idea of political action, and which idea was bitterly fought by Michael Bakunin, who had prophesied the very things that had come true with a vengeance. (Bakunin had predicted that Socialists entering and becoming a part of the very state machinery devised for the perpetuation of exploitation must end in ultimate treachery.) I say it is doubtful if any Bolshevik had realized this, because, having realized this, a voice might have been raised against the attempt to punish the children for the sins of their father.

Revolutionary Russia in 1917-1918 was to become the beacon light, the torch to inspire and inflame the oppressed of the whole globe. The idea of Soviets of Workers and Peasants aroused in every rebel admiration and hope, love and enthusiasm. And it was behind this representative force of the people in Russia that Bolsheviks, Social Revolutionists and Anarchists had united to end the reign of the Socialist Kerensky regime. No sooner was this accomplished than the real aim of the Bolsheviks began to make itself felt. Everything was to give way to their enthronement as the sole guardians and rulers of and over the revolution. Dissenting social revolutionists and anarchists, not to speak of dissenting Kerensky socialists, became outlaws and were labeled as counter-revolutionists. In place of the bankrupted Second Socialist International there arose a new Third International, backed by a Red Union International. The persecutions of dissenting sincere revolutionary elements within Russia became the model upon which the Third and Red Union International unloosened its declarations and decrees of hatred throughout the world. And the effect was slowly making its inroad into every revolutionary element. The seriousness with which the Bolsheviks had followed up this course reached its height of folly in the killing, exiling and sentencing to jail of revolutionary opponents, finally reaching even members of the Bolshevik party itself! It was of course all done with the best of intentions.

A future Moliere may be able to do justice in depicting this grimmest of all tragical comedies that has been enacted in the revolutionary movement during the last nineteen years. But before a Moliere will make a comedy out of it, it has in the meantime become the tragedy of the revolutionary movement throughout the world.

Unable or fearful to realize their terrible blunders, the Bolsheviks have begun a gradual retreat, but only a very gradual one. Those whom they labeled until yesterday as "social fascists" and "traitors" they are now ready to greet again and work with at one and the same table. Not only are they now willing to treat with these but also with liberals and even religious groups! The "united front" maneuvers reached already a stage where the more sane socialists are bolting it as a united front with forces that have very little in common with any social movements for justice and freedom!

There are many tragical points involved in the policies that the Bolsheviks have and are pursuing. The major tragedy lies in their failure to realize how and to what extent their own course of persecutions upon all the dissenting revolutionary elements within Russia has not only failed to solidify the revolution

in Russia as it no doubt could and would have under the Soviets or Workers and Peasants, but has also been the greatest contributing factor in the destruction of every spirit of *SOLIDARITY* that was prevalent in the revolutionary movements of the world. Even worse still, its misdeeds towards follow-revolutionists has undoubtedly paved the way for the Mussolinis and Hitlers, (a fact that both these renegades have often boasted of) and for rulers everywhere to justify and perpetrate at ease similar campaigns of repression of freedom and persecution and annihilation against every rebellious sign of dissent that questioned or threatened their reign.

Revolutionary Russia that was to light the torch of revolution throughout the world became instead the inspiration for unloosening oppression of freedom, hatred and discord against and among the revolutionary/forces of the world.

Under such circumstances what other conditions but those of prostration, emasculation and inability to defend its most valiant men and women can the revolutionary forces of the world find itself in?

* * *

What's to be done?

The imperative need of the moment is for the Bolsheviks to realize that no party that aims at the achievement of the oppressed's liberation has any moral justification to place itself above or over that force which has achieved the liberation of any people—the Revolution. And likewise they must realize that no accomplished Social Revolution can remain safeguarded as long as it does not show by its own living example that Justice and Freedom are at all times its mainsprings of inspiration, guidance and protection.

Once the Bolsheviks come to realize these great truths, they will easily realize also that the existing hatred that now encircles the revolutionary movement everywhere cannot and need not be healed by any sort of "united front" maneuvers, since there can never be in reality a united front of social movements holding divergent political and social views, employing different tactics and having totally different ultimate aims.

But there can be, and ultimately will return, within the revolutionary movements of the world that spirit of Tolerance and Respect for each other's beliefs and sincerity that made once possible that spirit of *SOLIDARITY* that was prevalent everywhere up to nineteen years ago.

And the force that can contribute the greatest toward bringing back that spirit is the very same force that brought about its present state of impotence. Reigning supreme over one sixth of the world's population in the name and in behalf of the workers and peasants of Russia, the Bolshevik government can at once show by the concrete example that it wants the spirit of *SOLIDARITY* to return once more as a formidable weapon of the oppressed in their struggle for political and economic emancipation. This the Bolsheviks can easily do by immediately releasing every sincere revolutionary opponent that they keep now incarcerated or exiled at home or abroad, as also by recognizing the equal right of every dissenting political and social group to enjoy the freedom of belief, the freedom of thought as well as the freedom of expression and of the press—as much as they enjoy it themselves.

That momentous days when the Bolsheviks come to realize the need of acting along the lines just suggested, the impetus will have been given to that re-awakening and re-birth of the Revolutionary spirit of Tolerance and Solidarity which will once again come to denote what it did up to nineteen years ago. When this day dawns, the days of the Mussolinis, Hitlers, Roosevelts, and of all the rulers in behalf of exploitation and oppression will be numbered.

The dawn of that day shall once again bring back May Day as the Day of Inspiration that it once implied. The Day of Reckoning as well as of Rebellion against Injustice and for the Birth and Creation of a New World wherein Justice and Truth, Tolerance and Respect shall ever be the guiding stars in the creative lives of Liberated Mankind. MARCUS GRAHAM.

* * *

It is all very fine to talk about tramps and morality. Six hours of police surveillance (such as I have had) or one of brutal rejection from an inn door will change your views upon the subject like a course of lectures. As long as you keep in the upper regions, with all the world bowing to you as you go, social arrangements have a very handsome air, but once get under the wheels and you wish society to the devil. I will give most respectable men a fortnight of such life, and then I will offer them two pence for what remains of their morality.

—ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR JUSTICE AND FREEDOM

Austria

The Fascist regime of Austria is taking bitter vengeance on all those arrested for their participation in secret trade union activities in this country.

The twenty-year-old worker, Ferdinand Steindl, has just been sentenced to five years at hard labor, together with Rudolph Holoway, formerly an official in the unemployment relief administration of Austria, who was sentenced to ten years in prison. Their crimes, according to the prosecutors' charges, consisted in organizing workers in unions, collecting contributions in defiance of the government and possessing and distributing trade union literature.

In glaring contradiction to the political amnesty declared by the Fascist regime at Christmas time and mainly destined for foreign consumption stands the fact that more people have been arrested during the first four weeks of 1936 than were freed under the so-called amnesty. The official announcement that the prisoners of the concentration camp at Messingdorf have been freed and the camp closed is a lie. Of the 40 prisoners confined there only 2 were freed while the other 38 were sent to the concentration camp at Wollersdorf.

The extent to which the courts of Austria are used for the suppression of organized labor is also proven by the recent decisions of the Supreme Court. In reviewing the case of the trade union leader Friemel, who was sentenced to three years at hard labor for his participation in the February fight, the Supreme Court raised Friemel's sentence to seven years. The trade unionist Joellinger, who was already sentenced by the police to 22 months in jail for distribution of illegal literature has now received an additional sentence of 15 months by the court for the same offense.

(LABOR CHEST NEWS SERVICE.)

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Brazil

Irrefutable proof that Victor Barron, American citizen, did not commit suicide as reported by the U. S. Embassy, but was tortured to death and then thrown out of a window by Brazilian police was disclosed to the press by Joseph R. Brodsky, New York attorney. An autopsy, he said, showed the presence of raw alcohol in Barron's stomach which had been forced through the nostrils and mouth. The nostrils were ripped and the jaw was broken. His emaciated body was covered with cuts and bruises. The medical examiner said Barron was dead before police threw his body out of a jail window to create the impression of suicide.

Brodsky also showed newspapermen a notarized affidavit detailing inhuman tortures suffered by Harry Berger, former Reichstag deputy, and his wife, at the hands of the Brazilian police.

(NEWS YOU DON'T GET.)

* * *

Germany

The mass trials of Socialist workers, which are taking place without interruption, show that the illegal agitation in Germany is extremely active. In the trials for high treason in Hamm, Cologne, Essen and other towns, for instance, groups of 20, 30, 50 or more persons at a time have been charged. In Wuppertal during the past weeks no less than 364 accused have been tried. All the trials take place with the most rigid exclusion of the public.

In Essen 42 accused have already been sentenced to imprisonment and penal servitude for terms up to 12 years, and now another trial for high treason involving 50 accused has just come to an end. The chief accused was sentenced to penal servitude for life; four others to 15 years' penal servitude each and the remaining to penal servitude from two to eight years or to imprisonment from nine months to two years. The sums of money, which consisted of contributions paid to illegal organizations and had been seized, were confiscated, and the "publications and other equipment" were destroyed.

Before the Berlin People's Court a big trial of a number of communists who had tried to bring the communist party into being again has just come to an end. The chief accused, Bertram, was sentenced to penal servitude for 15 years, two others to 10 years' penal servitude each and another two to 7 years' penal servitude each; three were sentenced to five years' penal servitude each and a ninth to two and one-half years' penal servitude. The remainder were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. In the indictment it was stated that "a large number of persons had been involved in the machinations of the accused in the Lower Rhine district, and that it had been necessary to arrest them."

A number of communists from Remscheid, among them various women, were brought before court of criminal appeal No. 2 of the Hamm provincial court on a charge of high treason. After proceedings lasting seven days eight of the accused were acquitted and two women got off with light sentences of imprisonment, but a number were sentenced to from one to two and a half years' imprisonment. The court sentenced the remainder to penal servitude for periods up to 10 years. Among those heavily sentenced were five women.

In Cologne the court of criminal appeal No. 1 of the Hamm provincial court proceeded against 51 persons "charged with high treason," who had been active on behalf of the communist party and its subsidiary organizations. Only two were acquitted. The proceedings against one of the accused were quashed and proceedings against another were abandoned and new proceedings instituted. Twenty-nine were sentenced to periods of penal servitude ranging from one and a half years to six years, and 17 to imprisonment for from one year and two months to two and a half years.

The court of criminal appeal of the Berlin Supreme Court sat in Halle and pronounced severe sentences of penal servitude

in a number of political trials. In the first trial on account of "Preparation for the overthrow of the existing order" the accused were sentenced as follows: Otto Bruder 11 years penal servitude, Otto Goldhahn six years penal servitude, Otto Weber, Kurt Schubert and Karl Dietrich five years penal servitude each, Walter Elrich four years penal servitude, Otto Witteborn, Fritz Schwarzer, Fritz Bolm and Alfred Schroder three and one-half years penal servitude each. In the second case 16 accused were sentenced to a total of 32 years and eight months of penal servitude and imprisonment, among them the two chief accused were sentenced to a total of 32 years and eight months penal servitude each. In the third case the accused, Paul Gittel, was sentenced to five years penal servitude, Walter Sommer and the 22-year old Gerhard Jahn to four years penal servitude each. A further four accused were sentenced to about nine years penal servitude and imprisonment.

A further case took place before the Hamburg provincial court of appeal against former members of the Social Democratic party. Here 12 young persons, some of them apprentices, were charged with high treason. The accused were former members of the Social Democratic Youth organization and were charged with continuing the existence of the Social Democratic party, and, by the distribution of material, a part of which is said to have come from abroad, with having performed treasonable acts. Julius Willemsen received five years penal servitude and five years loss of civil rights; Philipp Borth (apprentice) three years penal servitude; Walter Bohl two years penal servitude; seven accused, among them Strader, Otto Dehnke, A. Henke and Lorenz, were sentenced to two and one-half years imprisonment (all seven of them young persons). Willi Tiedt was sentenced to one year three months imprisonment. Not a single prisoner was acquitted.

(MARYLAND LEADER.)

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Italy

Professor Antonino Mario Pesenti, who at the age of 25 was a professor of political economy at the University of Sassari and has written many books, secretly slipped out of Italy and attended the Italian Socialist and Labor Congress Against War.

When Prof. Pesenti returned to Italy, he was arrested, tried behind closed doors and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment by the Special Fascist Tribunal for the Defense of the State. Not a word about the arrest, trial or sentence was published in the Fascist papers.

Pesenti maintained a heroic attitude throughout the trial. Since he was a member of the Fascist party as part of his underground activities, he was accused of treason by the judge who reminded him that he had sworn allegiance to the government when he assumed his post at the university. To this Pesenti replied:

A membership card imposed under duress and an oath extorted through the fear of unemployment has no value whatsoever to a gentleman.

The dignity and courage of Pesenti is an inspiration to Socialists and lovers of liberty everywhere.

(MARYLAND LEADER.)

* * *

Poland

At Lwow, capitol of Galicia, the police have attacked last month a funeral parade of 50,000 workers, chiefly unemployed ones. The funeral was in honor of a jobless youth killed by the police. The result of the attack on the funeral marchers was 18 dead and scores wounded and arrested.

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Russia

Two communists have been executed and 34 others were given long prison sentences in Soviet Russia for "participating in an alleged plot to kill Stalin," according to information just published in the Trotskyist journal *La Verite*.

The information is based on a letter received from Anton Chiliga, prominent Yugoslav communist, who recently left Soviet Russia. Chiliga is a former member of the Politbureau of the communist party of Yugoslavia. He spent five years in Soviet Russia. Together with two other Yugoslav communists, S. Dragish and M. Deditch, he was arrested in Russia three years ago, accused of Trotskyism. Since then Chiliga and his comrades were dragged from prison to prison until he finally managed to get out of the country. The other two communists who had accompanied him to Russia as members of a delegation of the Yugoslav communist party are still in jail.

Chiliga declares that many hundreds of foreign communists who have incurred Stalin's displeasure are in Soviet jails, among them three prominent Hungarian communists.

Among the 36 who were tried for the alleged plot to kill Stalin, says Chiliga, was Leo Kamenef, world famous communist leader and close co-worker of Lenin. The principal "hero" in what bears all the earmarks of another OGPU frameup was the painter Rosenfeld, Kamenef's brother, who played the role of "state witness." At the trial Kamenef stoutly denied any knowledge of the alleged conspiracy, saying that he did not know personally most of the accused. Kamenef was sentenced to a 10-year prison term, which he is to begin to serve only after his present term of five years expires. He is now in the political prison at Versche-Uralsk, confined with 12 other men. Kamenef was sentenced for participating in an alleged plot to kill Stalin while being confined in a prison cell.

In the same prison with Kamenef are also Zinoviev, former president of the communist international, and the old Bolsheviks Smilga, Zalutski, Kuklin, and others. Included among them are also the leaders of the old "worker's opposition" and former members of the Bolshevik central committee, Medvedieff, Schlappnikoff and Saprionoff, leader in the uprising in Moscow

in November, 1917, and one of Lenin's favorites. Saprionoff is very ill, as is Schlappnikoff.

Chiliga reveals a mass of other painful details about the life of political prisoners in Soviet jails and concentration camps of Siberia and Central Asia. Among the prisoners he mentions scores of prominent Bolsheviks and Socialists. Among these is Voio Vuyoxitch, former general secretary of the Communist Youth International. Chiliga calls attention to the fact that Smirnoff had just completed a five-year term in the Suzdal political prison when his term was extended another five years—purely as an act of Stalinite vengeance and political sadism. Vugovitch's wife, Budinskaya, is in another prison in Verchne-Uralsk, where she is confined together with the sister of Unschlicht, notorious assistant chief of the OGPU.

Among other prisoners at Verchne-Uralsk is the Socialist Revolutionist Volkenstein. Before being brought there she was kept in solitary confinement in the political prison at Yaroslavl, where she lost, in part, her capacity for speech. There are also twenty right wing communists at Verchne-Uralsk. Chiliga reveals. Among them are Astroff, Slipkoff and Rutin. Other prisoners include Anarchists, Socialist Revolutionists, Zionists, Social Democrats and about two-score Trotskyites. The total number of these prisoners at Verchne-Uralsk is about 200.

The worst features of the life of political prisoners in Soviet Russia, Chiliga declares, are to be found not in the jails but in the concentration camps, where life is a veritable hell. Chiliga says that hundreds of thousands of workers and peasants now fill the concentration camps, where they are treated worse than criminals.

There are four concentration camps for political prisoners: in Central Siberia, Ust-Pechersk, Kazakstan and the Solovetski Islands.

Chiliga tells of a hunger strike in the Verchne-Uralsk prison which lasted 13 days. The majority of the participants were punished by exile to more remote prison camps, while the leaders were sent to Solovetski. Among them was the old Bolshevik Dinglestadt, a member of the party since 1910. Lada Yenukidze, a nephew of the famous Yenukidze, who was for many years secretary of the central committee of the Bolshevik party and one of Lenin's closest lieutenants, was sent to Ust-Pechersk for his leadership in the hunger strike.

The demands of those who participated in this hunger strike were that those whose terms had expired be liberated, which applied to two-thirds of the prisoners.

An epidemic of hunger strikes has swept the concentration camps, the inmates demanding that they be sent back to the prisons, where life is a bit easier. One hunger strike lasted 35 days. Smirnoff, a former commissar, old Bolshevik and hero of the civil war, was among those who participated in this strike.

Other hunger strikes occurred in protest against the treatment of political prisoners on a level with criminals.

Several anarchists died after one such strike in the Mariansk camp.

(MARYLAND LEADER.)

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In this connection we would refer once more to the fate of Otello Gaggi, the Italian anarchist, who, sentenced in Italy to 30 years imprisonment for armed resistance to fascism in Tuscany, fled to Russia for refuge. He was sentenced in 1935—after the attack on Kirov, which resulted in a deluge of deportations—without any trial whatsoever, to deportation for three years to Yarensk (Siberia). A short time afterwards his wife was likewise sentenced to deportation, but not to Yarensk. Yarensk, situated 140 miles from the nearest railway, is buried under snow for eight months of the year!

(INT. ANTI-MILITARIST COMMISSION.)

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United States

Hearings before a senate committee disclosed last month that the corporations of America are spending millions on an elaborate spy system in their factories. The Steel Companies alone having spent within one year 80 million dollars for thwarting the organization of real unions. . . . The strike of marble workers in Vermont against the Proctor Marble Company is still on since last November. Workers received as low as \$5 in a week and \$13.30 for a full week's work. One hundred and eighty-six families are threatened with evictions from the company houses. Profits of the company average about \$800,000 a year. . . . Deputy sheriffs in Dade County, Florida, have begun a round-up of Negroes and being given the option of six months jail or the acceptance of farm jobs. . . . The "sit-down" strike at the Good-year Tire and Rubber Company was a great factor in the winning of the strike.

Governor Paul V. McNutt of Kentucky has already invoked martial law against striking workers in every county of the state. . . . Following the convention of the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union over one hundred members of that union were evicted from their homes. Mass meetings and private homes are being invaded by the "law and order" brigade, followed by physical attacks and jailings. . . . Two strikers were shot to death early in March and a third critically wounded at Seaside, Oregon, at the Crown Williamette Logging Company. . . . G. O. Hunter, Vice-President of the Portland Labor Council, charged in a radio broadcast that the death of 34 union man crew of the Seattle steamer IOWA "was due to consideration being given to profits."

Indictments on a charge of "assault with intent to murder" was brought in by an Alabama Grand Jury against Ozie Powell and Roy Wright, two of the nine Scottsboro boys. Powell has been returned to jail after a major operation to remove the bullet (fired at him by a sheriff) from his brain, his right sight is now totally paralyzed, and he is hovering between sanity and insanity. . . . Ray Becker, last of the Centralia Tragedy victims,

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A CENTURY AND A HALF OF ROMANCING ABOUT DEMOCRACY

(May 5, 1789 - May 5, 1936)

In the course of the revolutions of the earth around the sun, May 5 comes once a year. Such a commonplace event belongs to the history of astronomy. For many an age all the world, both the ignorant and the learned, thought that the sky and all its "lights" revolved around the earth, which was to them the whole "world." When Galileo proved the fact of the motion of the earth around the sun by means of the newly improved telescope, the Church denounced his statements and made him recant them. And still further back, there was no "May 5," because the calendar had not yet taken shape from the observations of the Egyptian and Babylonian priests. The naive mind is apt to assume that the calendar with all its days, weeks, months and years came into existence along with the rest of creation 400 years B. C. But during the long wanderings of the old stone age and the more settled habits of the new stone age mankind had exceedingly vague notions of the passage of time. Men were busy with their desires and their efforts to satisfy them. They were concerned with the incidents of each day and their responses to them, without much generalization of experience to guide them. For most of us our behavior is still like that, we are busy responding to the occasions of our own scenes, "May 5," will have its incidents characteristic of each one's scene, and then will be forgotten.

But the incidents at Versailles, May 5th, 1789, occasioned responses constituent of historical experience. The "Estates General" had been summoned by the King to put order into the affairs of the nation. This institution had originated in the medieval and feudalistic conditions, and consisted of three "orders" or classes of society, the "temporal barons" or lords holding estates direct from the king, the "spiritual barons" or bishops, also holding estates from the king, but receiving their spiritual insignia and canonical authority from the Pope, and the "third estate" or those holding estates from the larger barons and those engaged in trade or any profession yielding an income for their services. The origin of the third estate had been due to the developments of industry and trade in the towns. For two centuries or so there had been continual agitation in the towns for "liberties," the freedom to manage their own business according to the practice of their guilds or corporations.

In the struggles among the barons for power and prestige, the final outcome was the establishment of the monarchy, that is, the king became the only surviving baron, ruling over all the lordships, great and small, with the same arrogance characteristic of ruling castes from the days of the first conquests everywhere. But the monarchy had over-reached its power, squandered its resources in wars of ambitions and in the extravagant ostentation of the court, and for two whole reigns had bungled its job.

Finally the King admitted his failure, by calling the Estates General to Versailles. And on May 5th, 1789, the Third Estate assumed the full power of the whole by declaring themselves to be the constituent assembly. Its previous session had been in 1614. What it did then I do not know. But roughly estimated the lapse of 175 years furnished the time for the rise and fall of the "ancient regime" of which the reign and character of Louis the 14th is its distinctive feature. Louis is perhaps the most typical modern "baron" who rose to supreme power and put on an exhibition what sort of a "state" it will be if its welfare and governance is subject to the arrogance of a "lord" or "dominus." Even Augustus preserved the constitutional amenities by calling himself the "princeps" or "first" of the citizens. And it was not till the time of Diocletian, about 300 years later that the title of "dominus" was assumed, and the government became frankly an oriental military autocracy, under which Rome and Italy were reduced to the same status as the provinces. The four chief garrison towns, Trier, Milan, Serrum, and Nicomedia, became the capitals.

What happened at Versailles? Without canvassing all the details of history, this is what appears to one inquisitive layman. The King was incapable of decisions, there was no "mayor of

In The Struggle For Freedom

(Continued From Page Two)

has been the loser in his February attempt to force his unconditional release through legal means . . . Likewise, three of the seven Kentucky miners remain imprisoned, although four others have been released . . . William Trajer, sentenced in the 1931 Marine Strike in the New York harbor, to six and one-half to 25 years, has been re-arrested after his release on parole on two "new" counts—"arson" and "dynamiting." Thomas Bunker, sentenced at the same time on the same charge, was denied parole after refusing to accept voluntary deportation to England . . . Joe Morris, active worker in the tiff fields of Missouri refused to pay a \$50 fine for contempt of court and was jailed indefinitely. The judge released him when the time approached for a test in the higher courts . . .

Venezuela

Following a demonstration of 50,000 people in Caracas, capital of Venezuela, all political prisoners in Venezuela were released, according to word received here last week. Protests were also sent from the United States and other countries.

Police fired into the demonstration, which took place on March 14 and was composed of half the population of Caracas. Six people were killed outright and 120 were wounded, of whom 12 died later. A general strike, including all the newspapers of Caracas, was declared in protest against the shooting. The strikers won their demands for the removal of Felix Galavis, governor of the Federal District of Caracas, who was responsible for the slaughter. In memory of this event, it is reported that March 14 has been set aside by the Venezuelan people as a national holiday similar to the American Fourth of July.

the palace" to usurp his power, no minister available to save the day for him, and no "dictator" or "tyrant" to displace him. The third estate was a heterogeneous aggregate of interests but it felt its importance, asserted its prerogatives and no serious obstacle arose to hinder its deliberations and actions. By mere proclamation it transformed the medieval institution of the Estates General into the Constituent Assembly representing the whole power of the nation. It made its place in history through the default of the government and monarchy, and the mere impetus of the emotions and interests generated by its sessions. It was empiric and experimental in its programs—like our new deal. Though it cleared away a vast heap of feudal rubbish, the political precepts that were incorporated into new laws were derived from the legal and historical literature of Rome. The text book of which was Rousseau's "Social Contract." To some degree the "new wine" of modern experience was poured

Is It Just An Ordinary Crisis?

The world is taking on the downward path of the dollar and the trouble with the franc as the ordinary course of things, "already known to come." But the dangers of it are far deeper than the surface shows, even to economists. It is a crisis of the fundamentals of all currency. It will prove that all currencies are based upon myth.

They talk of the inflation of the dollar. What is inflation? It is when the currency of one country is measured by the gold content of another country's currency. In Germany and France, for example, the mark and the franc were measured during the inflation by the power of exchange with the gold content of the American dollar. In this respect, the sterling and the dollar are now inflation currencies, based upon their exchange value with the French gold franc. All the currencies of the world are now measured by their exchange value with the gold franc, which is therefore the pivot of all currencies.

Now, the very French franc is maintained by a hemorrhage of gold, which the French want to prevent. The French franc, like the American dollar before it went off gold, is covered by more than the legally necessary gold. Just as the Federal bank went off gold in spite of high gold backing, the French franc will have to give up the gold basis, if not only the French bank does not add gold to it as interest but especially if gold flows out in streams as it is doing. Even the Belgian franc went off gold in spite of more than the legal covering it had, just to prevent gold flowing off. Today, it does not matter if a bank note is covered with 100 per cent gold, but it matters if the banks do not increase gold but are losing it. So, when all paper currency countries which are more than 50 out of 56, not only put embargo upon gold export but are trying to get the gold of the gold countries, it is but natural that these countries will lose gold and compel France and the gold block to go off gold.

The sterling block countries even wish France to go off gold, not to be embarrassed by the question of re-monetization or return to gold as the standard. While this is the way of avoiding the question it will mean the loss of advantage which the sterling block acquired by giving up the gold standard. If the French franc goes down in value, it will mean a corresponding mounting of the price of sterling, since the sterling depends for its low level upon the height of the French gold franc, and is measured by the latter. If France devalues or goes off gold—both mean embargo upon gold and virtually going off gold—the sterling will shoot up and the advantages of its low level will

be lost. But when the French go off gold, there can be no further devaluation of the sterling and the dollar, but all paper currencies will be simple printed paper without any intrinsic exchange value or power. There can be no inflation either, since the measure of exchange for inflation, the key as in the case of the former inflation mark and franc, will be wanting. Thus the value of the currencies of all the world cannot be determined at all. Goods are not, never were, the measure of currencies, they were measured by the currency-fetching power from foreign parts and the currencies were measured by their gold fetching power from foreign parts. Goods cannot be the backing of any currency when all currencies are knocked off of their gold backing. No new currency can be "created."

In France, England, and the United States the people have complacently romanced about their "democracies," but they have not as yet established a single one. THOS. J. LLOYD.

What will happen then? All currencies will be dead and no new currency is possible. The very incentive for manufacture and trade will vanish, since no permanent or convertible value can be got or accumulated. Printing paper notes with the backing of laws or dictatorships will not create currencies. Such "currencies" will be useless for the governments themselves, since they will fetch no goods even for the states. The men who watch state or private properties cannot purchase anything with these "currencies" and therefore they will not guard the goods or properties—for others. That is no ordinary crisis, is it? The governments think that if they print and enforce laws at the point of the bayonet, all people will have to accept the notes. This time they will be mistaken. The people think that someone will issue notes and their business is to go on collecting them for exchange with and transmutation into gold or goods. This time they will also be mistaken.

When the French go off gold, there can be no currency to transmute into goods, for there will be no exchange value in currencies when the pivot, gold, is removed by all countries. Already silver lies dead, because silver has no intrinsic value except in exchange with gold. So paper will have also no value when it cannot exchange with gold and fetch it. So paper currencies will also be dead. Is it an ordinary crisis, this time? Thinking so, one can only come to the verge of the abyss. "No, nothing fundamentally wrong—go further."

When that time comes, what are the people going to do for their living? That is the only real problem in all parts of the world today. Otherwise, the abyss will consume them. M. ACHARYA.

Scarcity

leaving whatever other activity is shown to be over-supplied because giving smaller return. Looking at the matter in this light it is seen that scarcity, *relative scarcity*, will probably be with us always, ever being "abolished" and renewed. For products that are innovations, improved articles, as well as the activities of the Carusos, Edisons—great teachers and leaders, persons of exceptional ability—will by definition and in point of fact be relatively scarce until such time as others shall follow suit.

Not to remunerate ability is to put a premium on incompetency. We may be assured that in a free economy (which we have yet to have), free competition giving a fair field for all, each will get what he is worth, indeed, there is no other *natural* method of making the new and useful common. Scarcity is a factor in the determination of value, regulating production and distribution.

There is, of course, one other method—producing and distributing by decree. But where under freedom scarcity disappears by inducement, with authority it must do so by compulsion. It is unfortunate that so many people know of no other way of accomplishing results except by authority, law, and force.

Today, orthodoxy, either through stupidity or depravity, and by a peculiar process of thought, attempt to make everybody rich by curtailing production all around, producing scarcity by "crack-down" intimidation, by bribery (subsidies) and by buying with public funds for destruction. For, they reason, will this not make the scarcity which is so prolific of exceptional returns? But ah! Could criminality be more pronounced?

Yes, we know there exists poverty in the midst of plenty, real and potential. We know that private monopolies must be abolished. We know that it is possible for all to be amply comfortable. But we also know enough to be wary of those who use these now obvious commonplaces as a pretext for forcing upon us a Utopian state monopoly whether that monopoly be called Fascism, Communist, New Deal, Technocracy, Epic, or governmental monopoly of currency issue. We must think before it is too late whether we are willing to overlook freedom for the promises of security—before we sacrifice the liberty we might have for a mess of bureaucratic pottage.

LAURENCE LABADIE.

CAN WARS NEVER CEASE?

War clouds hanging over European and Asiatic continents are again threatening to rain down their bloody torrents. One thunderbolt, like that revolver shot in Sarajevo... is only needed to give the signal for a downpour of deadly fire which will embroil the people living on them in a raging pit of hell. In Africa the cannon mouths have been roaring long since, spreading death and destruction in their stormy wake.

Australia, living under the protective rule of Great Britain, is bound to be conscripted to the cause of devastation whether she likes it or not.

America will eventually dig out some pretext to join the merry conflict, if not through the Atlantic ocean it will have to be over the Pacific.

It won't be long before hell and thunder will reign supreme the world over—just as it did some two decades back.

History must repeat.

Now let us go down to brass tacks: Can war struggles among the different nations be eliminated? Will the peoples living on our turbulent planet ever awake from their abysmal drowsiness to realize that no matter how long they shall continue to gore each other's throats for portions of the earth's crest the hills and valleys will remain where they are, unmindful whether one country or another plants its symbolic flag on them?

The answer, of course, can easily be supplied by the various peace societies and other opponents to war as a means of adjusting national differences. All they need to do is don appropriate regalia and stage a peace parade under the merry tunes of a brass band—and *basta!* War has been dealt a knock-out blow never to recover from the terrible shock.

It is needless to point out the absurdity of such carnival fan-faring against the evils of warfare. At best it may only be compared to chasing the devil with prayer... Even the more boisterous protests called from time to time by organized labor against the savage institution of human slaughter bears very little significance, because the deep-rooted factors that are instrumental in fomenting war are by far stronger than the voice of condemnation raised against it. And if the world looked to the League of Nations, which, overtly at least, united the different nations in a sort of family circle in vain hope that such a union is bound to prevent further armed conflict, proved nothing but a boomerang for the stronger nations to exert their domineering power over the weaker.

To waive banners and cry aloud Down with War, Down with Imperialism, is a virtue deserving of appreciation. But can they be shot down with spectacular slogans, however sincere and well meaning their intention?

No, not by a long shot... Mankind has suffered under the ravages of war ever since self-styled kings and dictators have risen to splinter the human race into various factions for the purpose of re-uniting them in secluded national oligarchies. From earliest history these separated tribes, led by the Xerxes, Alexanders, Caesars, Hannibals and all exalted rulers that followed, engaged in military expeditions with only one object in mind—that of strengthening or widening the scope of national superiority. New territories, new conquests, have been the aim of every unified nations as a spurious motive for national honor.

Modern history is only a turning page of the past. The spirit of national glory, puffed up to excited frenzy by Twentieth century patriotism, throbs in every "country-loving" citizen for someone to lead into strange lands. He is ready to die, to crouch in agonized pain from a ripped-up belly, to forego all the misery and wretchedness which the field of battle deals out with such satanic lavishness; he is only too willing to give up his youth, his future—his very life—for Duce, or Fuierer, or any of them who has the cunningness to crack the whip or brandish with sabre, so the banner of his national homeland should flutter somewhere on a conquered hilltop. The Duces and the Fuierers know the psychology of their people—just as the Alexanders and Napoleons knew of theirs. They may not possess the courage of an Alexander nor the genius of a Napoleon, but they are shrewd enough and politician enough to play upon the patriotic feelings of the multitude to become their crowned leaders.

Thus we see Il Duce seeking to expand Roman dominance into the far-away land of Ethiopia; thus we see Japan stretching her Nipponites to the Wall of China and the Far East of Russian Mongolia; thus we see Der Fuierer arming his Nazi Legions for the Ukraine, possibly the Polish corridor and most likely Alsace-Lorraine. Great Britain cannot for the present hope for more suns to set... but is very keenly watching the movements of Roman legions in Ethiopia, which are pressing toward British-controlled Lake Tana. America has more than she can digest for the moment but keeps a sharp eye on Japan's activities across the Pacific. Russia too must not be overlooked; her standing army is now rated the biggest among nations. She

may not be looking for aggression or annexation, but she will battle for every inch of Russian soil an invader shall dare to attempt taking from her.

The spirit of peoples augmented and provoked by insidious leadership, has always been bent upon national solidification rather than international cooperation. It is not true, as social economists want to make believe, that peoples are forced to seek added territory in order to preserve their economic independence. It is not true that Germany must, of necessity, look to the fertile crops of Ukraine with which to fill her granaries; Ukrainian soil may be more productive than is the sandy land in Germany, but we must also bear in mind that Ukraine is settled by Ukrainians who themselves have to derive a living from it. And if Germany has broken the Locarno covenant and marched her army into the Rhineland, with expectations of annexing back into her fold the Alsace-Lorraine province, she will have gained nothing materially to help her economic stress but an added population to strengthen her national domain.

And why has Mussolini penetrated into Ethiopia? Will Italy ever be remunerated financially (the loss of life is of secondary or trivial importance, of course) for the untold millions of liras she is investing in the black desert? Will Italians emigrate into those lousy canyons to spend half the year under a deadly heat and the other half under a blanket of torrential rains? That is all poppycock. The crying need for an outlet for her congested population is the smoke screen with which modern politicians try to cover up their sinister ambitions—just as "saving the world for democracy" was the fraudulent excuse in the World War. The real issue involved is Italy's (Mussolini) envy of the Greatness England, as a nation, enjoys in her colonial empire, which she tries to emulate or even surpass by occupying a territory nearby, one of her "protectorates" (Egypt), with possible intentions of wresting it from England's rulership at the first opportune moment. England, of course, realizes the danger—and that is the reason she cried the loudest at the League conferences for punitive sanctions against Italy.

Furthermore, it is a well recognized fact that our present society suffers, not from lack of useful materials, but from over-abundance. Workers are shut out from factories, people are deprived of living necessities, not because of shortage in products or currency but because the vast supplies of money and resources is exploited by a controlling power of greedy manipulators, who, under an autocratic protection of "property rights" deprive them the "human" right to live by the products they themselves have created.

And still further, if it is really necessary to enlarge the areas of any congested nation in order to adjust its domestic economy why does not the spirit of international cooperation (if such a thing would exist) open the geographical boundaries for people to settle on the more available territories? Why does America close its barriers to millions of Italians, who could find a haven in only one state of her vast domain? And why should not all nations lift the trade barriers so people could freely interchange with natural and produced commodities and thus create a universal stabilization in the social and economic development?

The answer to these questions lies in the spirit of isolation, which every secluded body of people considers a mark of national "glory" and "prestige." And let not the advocates of socialism, anarchism or liberalism think for one moment that a world revolution will ever eliminate the self-containment with which each separate country tries to seclude itself, if the spirit of nationalism is not eradicated by the revolutionary trend. So long as that spirit of exclusivism will exist there is little hope for peace and security. So far the aspect is not very encouraging. We can look to Germany for example. They had the strongest Socialist and Communist parties, that, in true German style, were strongly organized, and at one time even swayed the politics of the country. What do we see? When Hitler came with his "national" socialism they abandoned all the Marxian doctrines which has been the gospel of millions in their ranks and aligned themselves, with some few exceptions, to the doctrine of Teutonism, as preached in the new gospel "*Mein Kampf*."

Likewise, or of somewhat similar nature, it occurred in Russia. The Bolshevik inauguration, that in its first inception strove for a world-wide revolution, gradually but methodically drifted away from the revolutionary idea of a universal proletariat and settled down to the business of effecting treaties with imperialistic nations and guarding its own frontiers against any possible intrusion by people from other lands (whether Russia is justified in protecting her own boundaries is not the topic of discussion).

Looking therefore at the world as it is we cannot be too optimistic for abolishing war. The spirit that has molded the human race in separate national factions will forever prevail upon them to seek the preservation of their respective integrities, and in doing so will not refrain from aggression and domination. Unless mankind wakes up to the fact that all humans, regardless of creed, color or race, are created by nature with equal rights to live and be citizens of the World, wars will never cease.

SAMUEL POLINOW.

BUSINESS

Business is the word that best describes the present social regime in which practicability is sovereign; it is the embodiment of the main aspiration—immediate personal usefulness. Yesterday is gone and forgotten, tomorrow is yet to come; but no one knows if he will live to see it; today is the day! Morals, right, reason, are words no longer in use, they only remind us of a great past and defective idealism, of an epoch in which supermen were created and mysticism done away with.

Now, to live is to fight, and to fight we need physical and mental strength. The lion is the king of the forest, and the whale that of the sea; the businessman is master of all human centers. No need for the lion's claw or the whale's corpulence, it suffices for him to possess selfishness, the best of human qualities, thoroughly developed. The misery of his fellow men is his feeding ground, the kindness of others, his strength, and their sufferings, his weapon. His coat of arms bears: cunning, cruelty and selfishness. The businessman enjoys wealth, pleasures, and honors and with these he is on the road to greatness.

Business is: religion, politics, industry and commerce; business is science, but it is not work.

Yet, without work, man's existence would be impossible. Insects, reptiles, birds, fish, beasts... all that germinate, with the exception of man, develop and live on earth, and toil when necessary, to feed themselves. In man there remains the search and lust for the reproduction of the species. Neither what he eats nor what he wears is spontaneously given to him by nature; his dwelling does not spring up from itself; and still less do the pleasures he enjoys. All human treasures are the results of mental and physical activity. Without work man would go back to the chaotic state from which he rose; he would be a wretched quadruped unable to attain perfection. Work is the origin of all business and it can subdue all business.

First let us analyze our interests. Raw materials are plentiful in nature; and we have the capacity to utilize them so as to produce what we like. We know how to obtain the best results with the least effort. The very basis of our business is to give way to none and to rely mainly on our brains and arms and upon the indispensable elements necessary for production. Our "business" cannot fail; for with some spirit and labor at our expense and risk, we shall prosper so greatly that no exaggerated and isolated god could be compared with us. Let us then get at it! Let us start...

* * *

But how can we start when all that rightfully belongs to us is now the property of our despoilers? The raw materials have been stolen from us, our brains and muscles rent, and society so organized that we may neither starve to death nor live leisurely. In crossing our arms we could disorganize the present system; but that would not be very practicable. There are laws against tramping that compel us to work, and organizations that convert us into killing machines or into instruments of production; this according to the determination and convenience of our masters. First we must liberate ourselves. And this is not an easy task. Individually it is impossible. From time to time one of us will

jump into the enemy's camp, even as one of the latter will at times jump into ours. There is no way in which we could profitably use either the raw materials or the necessary tools to elaborate our aim. We are thus compelled to spend our physical and mental strength in feeding, clothing, sheltering ourselves.

Surely, we are placed in a vicious circle from which we could get out if we would only unite and accumulate the necessary strength to break it up. And as we are divided into political parties, religions, races, and nationalities, the problem seems to be insoluble. With every one for himself we remain powerless, united we become powerful. Let us all unite. This is not a question of principle, but one of necessity, reason, and convenience. Let us face the three trusts: capitalism, government, and religion, and form the workers' trust against the mall. Our interests require it. Let us put into it our brains and arms, they are our only capital and advice of conduct. Let there be no sentimentality; for we are men of the twentieth century. Nothing is sacred to those who oppose man's well-being, therefore nothing is worth being respected. Let us speak like Zarathustra. The traditions! Treacherous games pretending to defend the seniles. Acquired rights? Coasts of arms for feeble souls. Society! Mirage of the short-sighted. The real, positive, and insurmountable item is force. In other times the force of reason might have had some value, but today it is necessary to add the reason of force.

And to our enemies we emphatically say that it is only for a time. We speak of "business," not as an individual but as a group, and by it we mean our interests and emancipation as producers. We do not present ourselves to our enemies as dreamers, we tell them as they tell us: "We mean business!"

P. ESTEVE.

(Translated from Spanish by Jules Scarceriaux.)

I Have Seen—

Here we are in a land, vast and beautiful and fertile. Seeds in the earth push up. They blossom, they feed us. Sometimes there's no rain—last summer there wasn't—and the soil that ought to bear becomes instead a blowing and drifting terror. Sometimes there are cloud-bursts—you have them out here. Sometimes a winter when sleet and snow and wind are slashing and venomous. But what happens? The cold stops. Rains fall. The sun shines. The rigors and terrors of nature come to an end. But the rigor and terror of man against man never cease. I've seen it. I know! In textile mills, railroad yards, on docks, in the streets. Machine guns moving down men in Wisconsin. Men and women hounded and flogged and tortured in San Francisco. Riot squads, strike-breakers, nausea gas—bayonets! And starvation! And voices crying out! For what? A little bread, a little sun, a little peace and delight! I've heard them, I tell you. I've seen. And I know! This is reality, this is the stuff our senses are gorged with!

—LYNN RIGGS.

MAN!

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MAN!

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ANARCHISTS: Carlo Cafiero

[* * *]

For ten years, 1872-1882, Cafiero was the Italian anarchist most in view for his determined revolutionary attitude, his keen profession of the most advanced ideas, his generous support of the inept movement up to the loss of his once considerable riches and his fate which from romantic became utterly tragic, leading to gradual mental decline and many years passed in state asylums under distressful conditions. Born in Southern Italy as the son of a rich land owner, he studied law, was preparing for a diplomatic career, took an interest in democracy, in ethnology and in occultism, when the political excitement of the winter of 1870-1871 which he passed in London, brought him in touch with the International and the social question fascinated him from then to the end of his life.

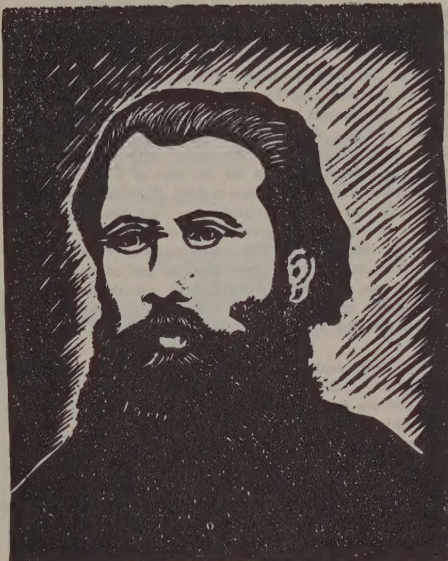
About that time by the death of his father he had become a rich man, he scorned to enter a state career and was rather inclined to pursue philosophical studies in a German university, but his family affairs first required a journey home, to Barletta. From a public meeting of the International which first impressed him he soon made his way to Marx and Engels, who welcomed and treasured him as the first and only Italian who came to them as a frank admirer of socialism. They doctrinized him and poisoned his mind against Bakunin; then they made use of his journey to Italy, begun May 12, 1871, to instruct him to uncover and undo wherever he went, the deleterious machinations of Bakunin. Cafiero, utterly ignoring Bakunin's real activities and his ideas, went to Florence and Naples terribly prejudiced, but slowly the scales fell from his eyes, by all which he saw and heard and largely through the good influence of Palladino and Malatesta in the section of Naples. Malatesta not yet 18, then became his closest friend for life. The letters of Cafiero to Engels have been published, showing what trouble he took, when undeceived himself, to show to Engels the malignity of his persecution of Bakunin. At the same time, Cafiero was slow in approaching Bakunin, but at last with Fanelli, he visited Bakunin in Locarno from May 20 to June 18, 1872, and they came on May 21st already to the most complete understanding. During these weeks the recklessly calumnious pamphlet by Engels (The Pretended Secession in the International) reached Cafiero, who then wrote his final letter of bitter contemptuous strictures to Engels and had done with him from then on.

At that time the Italian sections, in mutual contact already by intimate militants, the friends of Bakunin, were preparing their public federation and Cafiero's great ardour, also his material means which permitted to defray printing, traveling and similar expenses contributed much to the constitution of the Italian Federation at the conference held at Rimini in August. His complete rupture with the state socialist principles and the authoritarian methods of the London General Council controlled by Marxists and Blanquists is reflected in the resolutions of the Rimini Conference and in the attitude of the Italian International during all the years while it lasted, up to the early eighties. Cafiero was willing to make every pecuniary sacrifice for revolutionary purposes, Italian and International, and this rare disposition, very helpful as it was in many cases, was harmful to others and to himself as a final result, in the long run; as far as Bakunin was concerned, it was even disastrous to both, Cafiero and Bakunin.

He conceived the idea to buy a house and grounds in the neighborhood of Locarno, on the steep stony mountain slope descending to the Lago Maggiore, where old Bakunin should reside to the end of his days, apparently retired from revolutionary affairs, having become a Swiss citizen and being thus protected against expulsion. But the house should also give shelter to militant revolutionists, be a safe place for the accumulation of weapons, for secret printing, etc., and wine and vegetables might also be grown on the grounds. As it were, the Italian insurrection planned for the summer of 1874, a real social revolt, was being prepared there from about December 1873 to August, 1874. Mid between Cafiero traveled to Russia in the spring of 1874, as he wished, by a legal marriage, to rescue Olympia Kutusov, his devoted wife, a typical nihilist, from family and governmental power weighing upon her. In face of all these doings which attracted numbers of visitors and residents to the house, occupied since summer of 1873, stood the fact that accommodation was insufficient, that a new house had to be constructed, roads made, etc.—all this by local contractors, who, seeing much ready money and an equal lack of experience both in Bakunin and in Cafiero, made the most of this unique occasion, working slow and dear and never finishing. Those who might have warned, like Malatesta, were absent; all the others did not care or considered Cafiero's riches inexhaustible. Some day in July, 1874, Cafiero discovered that he was practically ruined and then his feelings of real fury and hatred were directed against Bakunin, who then left that house and went to Bologna, the principal place of the Italian insurrection where in the critical night he expected the fighting would begin and then was rescued by a comrade just before his attempted suicide and later led by other comrades safely back to Switzerland. Meanwhile Cafiero had been confirmed by some others in his enmity against Bakunin; he had suppressed Bakunin's long statement of the whole case written for his wife—a document disappearing thus for many years and destroyed by James Guillaume in 1898, but of which a complete copy has been made accessible since 1899 and was published in 1929, and he had ordered Bakunin's family to leave the house, a commission which Ross (U. P. Sazin) undertook to deliver for him. Finally Bakunin's intimate comrades in Switzerland (James Guillaume and the Zurassians) Cafiero and Ross disassociated themselves from Bakunin in September, 1874, and Bakunin, who had strong personal opinions on the attitude of all these former friends, was thus

severed from a portion of the international milieu for the last 21 months of his life.

Under these painful conditions and the complete downfall of the Italian insurrectionary attempts, Cafiero had no occasion to go to Italy in 1874 and he spent over a year at the now solitary house in almost ascetic retreat, until Malatesta, acquitted at the trial at Trani, visited him and Bakunin and militant internationalism was gradually revived. His animosity against Bakunin had somewhat relaxed and when he left for Milan,



CARLO CAFIERO
(1846 - 1892)

to work as a photographer, he took leave in friendly terms. Later in 1876 he was in Naples with Malatesta, Covelli and others and it was then that they resolved to adopt communist anarchism instead of collectivist anarchism, their creed until then. They also decided to prepare an insurrection in 1877 on a more anarchist basis than that of 1874, considering important before everything to demonstrate their social ideas by real action.

The great trials of the Internationalist prisoners of 1874, held in 1875 and 1876 had aroused popular sympathies for the young and disinterested prisoners, this might be continued by showing to the people an example of bold solitary action. These were and are the real origins of "propaganda by deed," a word used in 1876 by Costa and Broussé, whilst Kropotkin in a Russian revolutionary text of 1874 had also defined the "fakti tcheskaia" propaganda. Both ideas, then, were placed before the Italian Congress held in Toscana in October, 1876, after which Cafiero and Malatesta took part in the International Congress held at Bern and tried to find means to prepare the new insurrection. They were quite poor then and did odd jobs in the building trade; when unexpectedly a considerable debt was paid back to Cafiero, these resources were spent in procuring rifles for the insurrection. Treachery by a local peasant and a shooting affray with gendarmes, when the weapons were to be fetched from Sergei Stepniak's (Kravchinski's) house in San Lupo precipitated the outbreak, and some 27 revolutionists, Cafiero, Malatesta and their comrades had to take to the snowclad mountains early in April 1877 where in two villages they did any amount of revolutionary activities and propaganda, but were finally betrayed and forced to surrender to the soldiers in exhausted condition (night of April 11-12). They were kept in prison for 16 months, during which time the amnesty after the death of the king greatly reduced the charges against them and the jury finally acquitted them. They kept in touch with the International by several declarations and when Capital by Marx, volume I, appeared in French (autumn of 1877) Cafiero composed an Italian summary of it, published in Milan, 1879, 127 p., a well written text which James Guillaume translated into French (Paris 1910). As an accumulation of documentary evidence of how the workers were robbed and physically ruined by the factory system, Capital was appreciated by every anarchist, whilst the subtleties and intricacies of the theory of value, etc., of Marx's "economical metaphysics" (Bakunin's words) did not trouble overmuch the lively young spirits of the southern militants.

Cafiero sent the little book to Marx (July 23, 1879) addressing him as "stimatissimo signore" and Marx who, as his daughter Laura affirmed in 1910, considered Cafiero's work a very good popular resume, in his reply to "cher citizen"—the draft is dated July 29th—enters into several characteristic details, stating also that Cafiero did not discuss "the proof that the material conditions necessary for the emancipation of the proletariat are in a spontaneous way engendered by the march of capitalist exploitation." Perhaps Cafiero did not believe in this Marxian automatism. He held ideas of his own upon Revolution, some of which he expressed at the end of his little book. But he treated at great length the subject Revolution in articles printed in Paris since February, 1881, not completed—a most original fragment which is still waiting for closer examination and a full reprint which on two occasions has been frustrated.

After his acquittal in Benevento, Cafiero still the owner of the house near Locarno, may have passed there, but in 1879

he mainly lived in or near Paris, frequenting the early anarchist groups, joined once more by Malatesta, but in the latter part of the year he was expelled and then lived for some time, mainly in 1880, in Geneva and later in Locarno, Lugano and visiting adjacent northern Italy, etc. His situation became precarious and after a month's imprisonment in Lugano—when he first read Pisacane's writings to his greatest delight—he came to London (autumn of 1881).

Of this period are two of the most characteristic of his writings—the report *Anarchie et Communisme*, laid before the Zurassian Congress at La Chaux de Fonds, October, 1880, a glowing expose of libertarian communism in its fullest, most immediate, almost tangible realization, an often reprinted and translated pamphlet, and the unsigned article *L'Action* in the *Geneva Revolt*, of December 25th, 1880, the most violent article in that paper, produced under conditions which Kropotkin has intimately revealed. It is a call to direct popular action of every type and profession of Pisacane's famous words that ideas spring from acts and not the contrary. The article should be considered by the light of the inner controversies which were tearing up a part of the intimate group, dating from Bakunin's International Brotherhood (1864) of which Kropotkin then was the secretary. Costa and Broussé had gone to the right (parliamentarism) and, to Cafiero at least, Kropotkin and the Zurassians who had a weakness for municipal action (the commune) seemed to be a "central" party. So he nailed his flag to the mast and proclaimed unlimited revolutionary and popular action. Malatesta, on his side, was on the lookout for combined action, joint forces, for immediate revolutionary purposes. Cafiero stood alone and was skeptical about all that was not immediate action, as we also see from his terse letter, now also published, on the Congress question of 1881. He was on rather stiff terms with Kropotkin, in Geneva and in London (1881-82) and it may also have been difficult, if not painful, for Malatesta, his nearest comrade, to come to an understanding with him.

All this was clearing up by and by in a tragical way, when his friends noticed symptoms of mental derangement in him. Kropotkin noticed this already in Geneva and Malatesta had to surrender to evidence in London 1881-82. Personal irritation, a phobia of imaginary persecution and a return of early impressions like a real Marx-idolatry which made Kropotkin furious in London, were progressive symptoms and then he unfolded before his amazed friends a plan of resorting to parliamentary action. Rebuked by them he hurried to Milan at the end of March, 1882, where he laid his plan before the Socialist leader Bignami, Gaucchi-Viani, who were not less astonished. But he made public his new standpoint in the *Favilla* (Mantova) and the *Plebe* (October 27, 1882). I believe, however, that one may fairly say that the then socialists did not exploit Cafiero's apparent defection against anarchism; so manifest it was to all, that he had become a mental wreck. The government kept him in prison for several months, between April and June, 1882, in Milan, and here his imagination or other factors made him believe that he had betrayed secrets by talking in his sleep. He was plunged in darkest desolation and in this state they led him to the Swiss frontier and set him free there. He went to the nearest inn and began to cut his throat by broken glass. Rescued, he implored Emilia Bellerio of Locarno, Bakunin's and his close friend, to come to his side and then in Bellerio's friendly home he felt safe again and seemed to make a wonderful recovery. But he became restless again and wished to return to Italy where shortly after on February 13th, 1883, he was found on the mountains near Fiesole (close to Florence) in a nude state, a wandering lunatic, and then he became an inmate of state asylums. Even then he had lucid intervals, as we see by a letter of his of March 31st 1883, where he expresses his longings for a state beyond anarchy, which he clearly defines as anorxia, meaning a transition from what may be called "organized" anarchy to unorganized or natural anarchy, to anarchist life then. But Malatesta who visited him in the same year, became fully aware that he was insane. He was at times permitted to leave under care of his wife (1886), of his brothers in Barletta (1889), and of comrades, I believe in Imola; but it always became necessary to return to the asylum. He died of interstitial tuberculosis in the asylum of Imola (Romagna) July 17, 1892, bearing his sufferings with an angelical fortitude. His memory was kept up by the Italian comrades at that time and ever since like that of a saint.

Eliseo Reclus was a near friend to him. His name is given as one of the editors, with Reclus, of Bakunin's *God and the State*, but he took no direct part in producing that edition of 1882. He proposed, however, to write a life of Bakunin and important materials, which were sent to him for that purpose, are or seem to be lost with all the rest of his papers. His wife, after her escape from Siberia in 1883 clung to him, but could not remedy his mental ruin. Recollections by her are found in an early volume of *Byloe* much has been written on Cafiero, but little of it is based on documents and his scattered writings and letters have not been collected and the most important part of his correspondence, a big bundle of his letters to Malatesta, has been burned in London in 1893 when Malatesta's old papers were destroyed. So much of his life records is now lost and this may explain the length of this sketch, as rapid a summary as it is, as nearly the complete biographical information on Cafiero exists nowhere to my knowledge.

(The above biographical sketch is written by a well-known comrade of our movement. For obvious reasons he now refrains from using his name.—EDITOR.)

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ANARCHISM OF ALBERT JAY NOCK—As gathered from his books "JEFFERSON" HARDCOURT, BRACE AND CO., N. Y. 1926—"ON DOING THE RIGHT THING" HARPER, N. Y., 1928—"THE THEORY OF EDUCATION IN THE U. S." HARDCOURT, BRACE AND CO., N. Y., 1932.

Upon reading Nock's latest book "Our Enemy, the State," reviewed in a recent issue of *MANI*, I became so interested in his style and the freshness of his viewpoint that I immediately read the above three books which I procured at the library. While they are not as recent for the purpose of review as many others, at least they are new to me, and perhaps to other readers of *MANI*!

One reason that anarchists have made so little progress among the native born Americans is that they have neglected to back their arguments with illustrations from American history; giving rather European ideas which were not appreciated. The contrast between the present log-rolling of Democratic politicians and the sincerity of Jefferson is brought out by Nock in his book on Jefferson which deals with little history of politics but makes Jefferson stand out as a man of character.

We anarchists have allowed the Democrats to attach the name of Thomas Jefferson the fatherhood of their party because he favored state rights as against the Federal government. In proving our idea of decentralization we have not needed to go outside of our own country to prove that this idea of Jefferson was carried on all down the line as Jefferson is quoted by Nock as saying: "State rights against the Union, for county rights against the State; for township or village rights against the County, and for private rights against all." Jefferson's idea of power is also quoted: "Even under the best forms of government those entrusted with power have, in time, and by slow operations, perverted it into tyranny."

While Jefferson was not an anarchist theoretically his spirit of freedom led him toward the practice of anarchist principles much more than many who shout these principles and coerce their neighbors in a selfish manner. Nock tells of Jefferson's idea of the Indians: "He admired their anarchist polity and their highly integrated sense of manners; it was his observation of these that put into his mind the great idea that in so far as mankind needs any kind of government at all, it should be government by customs rather than by laws." The anarchist principle of the right of possession was recognized by Jefferson when he said: "Whether we remain in one confederacy, or break into Atlantic and Mississippi confederacies, I believe is not very important to the happiness of either part."

In his life of Jefferson, not only abstract principles are discussed but the fact that in a day when graft and corruption were universal Jefferson, with Washington, Hamilton and John Jay did not prostitute public office for private gain. Not only in theory did Jefferson abhor politics as such but in his daily life and his life abroad as Ambassador to France he was more interested in bringing back to America plants, seeds, and inventions than he was in changing governments. He made many inventions, among them the swivel chair for politicians to sit in, but refused to take out a patent to enrich himself. Personally Jefferson abstained from tobacco, strong liquor, and was practically a vegetarian, he got up before sunrise for the last fifty years of his life; his teeth were perfect until his death in 1826 and his eyesight was practically unimpaired.

In great contrast to the democratic politicians of later years Jefferson refused to campaign for office or to allow fellow Democratic office holders to do so for him. He refused to allow his birthdate to be known in order that it might be celebrated, or to make trips around the country to show himself in order to win votes and applause. He refused a third term. Although admitted to the bar he distrusted lawyers as well as physicians.

He wrote his own epitaph which did not mention that he was president of the United States or governor of Virginia, but merely said: "Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom, and father of the University of Virginia." None of these accomplishments were unanarchistic.

One chapter in the book of essays "On Doing the Right Thing" is named "Anarchists' Progress." Nock frankly admits that he is not a propagandist and that he has not linked himself up with the recognized anarchist movement, although he is willing that those who feel an urge to do so should seek to educate the world in that respect. As a child living near the Tammany Wigwam in New York City his first opinion of politicians was linked up with that of a species of drunken beast; and as later he visited the legislative assemblies his opinion of the politician was not raised to any great extent. Those of us who remember the high tone of *The Freeman* of which Mr. Nock was an editor will feel that his style of writing is badly needed today amid the bombast of excitement and exaggeration in both the radical and conservative press. As an example of his tone I will quote several paragraphs from the essays in this book.

Many people who are too intelligent to sell their minds to a political party and vote a ticket blindly seem to succumb to the idea of electing a "good man" to office. Nock kills this idea in one sentence: "Suppose that you put in a Sunday School Superintendent or a Y. M. C. A. secretary to run an assignation house on Broadway. He might trim off some of the coarse fringes of the job, such as the badger game... but he must run an assignation house." In other words the state is based upon the policeman's club no matter if the hand that wields the club is gloved or not.

During prohibition days the idea of freedom meaning license to do evil was a stock argument of the prohibitionist in his attack against repeal. Nock feels that without responsible beings, which is the aim of the anarchist, the drink problem can never

be solved. He states: "Freedom... undoubtedly means freedom to drink oneself to death. The anarchist grants this at once; but at the same time points out that it also means freedom to say with the grave-digger in 'Les Miserables,' 'I have studied, I have graduated; I never drink.' The anarchist is not interested in any narrower or more personal view of human conduct. Believing that man should be wholly free to be sober or to be a sot; his eye is not caught and exclusively engaged by the spectacle of sots, but instead he points to those who are reasonably sober, sober by a self-imposed standard of conduct, and asserts his convictions that the future belongs to them rather than to the sots."

Nock's statement of his idea of freedom reminds one of the spirit of Emerson and Thoreau alive again in the land. He says: "The anarchist does not want economic freedom for the sake of shifting a dollar or two from one man's pocket to another's; or social freedom for the sake of rollicking in detestable license; or political freedom for the sake of a mere rash and restless experimentation in system making. His desire for freedom has but the one practical object, i. e., that men may become as good and decent, as elevated and noble, as they might be and really wish to be. Reason, experience and observation lead him to the conviction that under absolute and unqualified freedom they can, and rather promptly will, educate themselves to this desirable end; but that so long as they are to the least degree dominated by legalism and authoritarianism, they never can."

Oscar Wilde said that there are three tyrants, the Prince who is the tyrant of the body, the Pope who is the tyrant of the mind, and the people, which is the tyrant of both body and mind, and that this latter tyrant is the worst. Many public buildings have the inscription above their entrances: "The voice of the People is the Voice of God." The anarchist differs from all other radicals in as much as he is free to speak against any tyranny—yes, even against the tyranny of the majority. In his book on education Nock demolishes the idea of Equality as it is handed out by politicians who seek votes. Anarchism stands

for the equal right of all to develop inequalities of temperament, character and ability—not the mediocrity of the Fascist or the Communist state. Nock also annihilates the false idea of Democracy which flatters the multitude into thinking that because they can vote they can control society. He says: "It is not those who vote that rule, but those who own." Education for all, no matter how capable each person may be of developing his mind, is another fallacy.

Nock defines an educable person as: "One who someday gives promise of being able to think... all the progress in actual civilization that society has ever made has been brought about, not by machinery, not by political programmes, platforms, parties, not even by revolutions, but by right thinking... The person of intelligence is the one who always tends to 'see things as they are,' the one who never permits his view of them to be directed by convention, by the hope of advantage, or by irrational and arbitrary authoritarianism."

Nock believes that the mistake that is made today is that we call training education, when it is simply training. I would say that I do not agree with Nock's idea of a classical education being able to produce a habit of real thought in the minds of even a select number of students. The educated man "fell" for the war hysteria in the same manner as did the uneducated one. His mental training did not produce a habit of thought. I agree with Nock that it will take a long time before any proportion of the people will be able to appreciate real education or be capable of much progress in real thought. However, the methods of Tolstoi and Ferrer would seem to produce better results than any scholastic scheme. The criticism of education as it exists in the U. S. today as given by Nock is well worth reading; and it may cause some to question orthodox ideas who would otherwise not awake to the essential falsity of our present civilization when it comes to real education or real thinking. Some people arrive at the anarchist attitude more through disgust rather than through hope. Nock would seem to have little hope for immediate success but his philosophy as an ultimate goal is worth the study of any student of present day society.

AMMON A. HENNAKY.

Correspondence and Discussion

"If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought, Let It Crack!"—WENDEL PHILLIPS

An Answer To Janet Newton

I shall not bother to answer all her erroneous statements but mainly her last paragraph.

Anarchism is our conception of the most congenial society that we can comprehend. Still those of us who have not evolved mentally to an equal degree must require explanation from those whose reasoning is greater.

In her sentence, "Perfection is Stagnation," she makes the word "perfection" a noun—a thing—an ultimate thing. Perfection is only a condition; to our senses, conceptions and reasoning (which are improving through evolution as all physical things), it is a relative state.

One would call a beautiful apple, a modern automobile, a modern home with the latest improvements and conveniences, a beautiful flower, etc., a perfect. Then, would you call these things stagnant (foul) according to the main definition of the word? The sentence is an absurd contradiction.

Yet, the apple, car, home, etc., can still be improved. We are continually improving the things around us for our enjoyment. Arguing, quibbling and antagonism are still a vestigial remnant from the days our primordial ancestors had to contend with the carnivorous and destructive beasts. This nature is slowly leaving mankind and we are gradually evolving to a more congenial understanding. This is what anarchism is striving to: "A congenial social brotherhood."

When I am starting with someone on a trip over the mountains and the individual argues incessantly, we shall never make camp before dark and the hardship will be unendurable, if we ever do get started. I like the individual who comes to an understanding and cooperates in the endeavor, that is an anarchistic trait. The persons who have had the same ideas or similar ideas, with whom I have had an understanding, those I can truthfully call friends. Those who antagonize you, can you call them friends?

When we achieve anarchism, besides living harmoniously as brothers and sisters, we shall have enough to keep us busy in our pursuits, unhandicapped by the despicable avariciousness that is sapping our life blood today. It is an inherent instinct in man to improve everything around him, this differentiates him from the lower animals. He derives personal pleasure from his achievement as well as approval from his fellowman.

Besides producing the necessities of life these activities will keep mankind busy indefinitely: improvements in agriculture, improvements and invention of better machinery, greater advances in research and experimentation. Pleasurable pursuits in arts, painting, sculpture, music, drama, and literature, improvements in agriculture include improvement of vegetables, fruit, plants, etc. Research and experimentation includes innumerable pursuits, some of the important ones are: chemical, medical, surgical, astronomical, metallurgical, etc.

Mental stagnation can only occur in heads that are filled with sawdust.

GEDEON RASTICA.

Why Wear Clothes?

The wearing of clothes is one of the filthiest habits of civilization, because clothes retain the excretions, prevent the proper contact of air and light with the surface of the body.

Most humans are slaves to fashion, custom, tradition, spend most of their time toiling for food, clothes, shelter, and, the "rainy day" they feel sure will overtake them.

In the mad rush for mere existence, but little time is given to thought, the unfolding of the higher self, that enables humans to escape slavery.

Fear of offending the decrees of fashion; being one's own true self, is slavery that strangles the growth of character.

Wholesome food, air, sun and water baths add to human comfort, as well as going naked whenever possible.

HARRY HERMAN.

The Ferrero and Sallitto Case

Vincent Ferrero and Domenick Sallitto have been released on \$1,000 bail after three months detention at Ellis Island. Writs of habeas corpus in their behalf were dismissed by Judge Caffey of the southern district in New York City on March 26. Intention to appeal was filed immediately. It took almost two weeks to enter the petition for appeal on record and to have bail set by the court. Bail was readily posted by the New York Dressmakers Joint Board, I. L. G. W. U. and both cases are now to be put on calendar with the Circuit Court of Appeals. The law firm of Shoor and King will continue to handle the defense of both cases.

On April 4, a concert and ball was held by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference at the Star Casino in New York. The affair proved to be a great success both morally and financially. Over one thousand people attended the dance and recital displaying great enthusiasm and good will toward the cause the conference is fighting for.

The Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference has issued a pamphlet which gives a concise outline of the facts involved in the two cases. Groups and organizations interested in the fight against deportation and in helping in the struggle to save Ferrero and Sallitto are urged to order bundles of this pamphlet for distribution. Copies will be forwarded by the conference upon request.

AN APPEAL—Now that the two cases have gone to the Circuit Court of Appeals, the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference wishes to impress upon its numerous friends, groups, organizations, and trade unions, the urgent need of assistance in carrying the fight on to victory. According to court rules, the records of the two cases must be printed and this will require a large sum of money. We also have to honor our obligations to the attorneys and expenses for correspondence and publicity are increasing with the necessity of widening and expanding the fight. Funds are badly needed. We appeal to all lovers of justice, labor unions, and groups for contributions to keep the agitation alive with mass meetings, and continued protests to the Labor Department at Washington.

FERRERO-SALLITTO DEFENCE CONFERENCE.
P. O. Box 181, Station D,
New York City, N. Y.

By what strange law of mind is it, that an idea long overlooked, and trodden under foot as a useless stone, suddenly sparkles out in a new light as a discovered diamond?

—HARRIET BEECHER STOWE.

ART AND LITERATURE

POEMS FOR MAY DAY

* * *

Atlas

The world is one hard everlasting weight
Upon his broad back crouched to bear the load,
That was the wrath of God, the blow of fate.
Millenniums are piled across his head,
A million raging wars have made him sink
Onto his knees, half living and half dead.
Taut muscles chained by mountains link on link
Beyond escape for many a century,
Have fixed him like a statue at the brink
Of life and death: his brow wet with the sea
Of labour, his arms holding the work of ages,
His heart resigned, yet hoping to be free.
His strength unfailing never, keeps and wages
Life, and sees it engraved on living pages.

VINCENT FERROUS.

* * *

Chicago

Art Institute—Field Museum—Aquarium
Walk out on Navy Pier—hold your handkerchief over your nose
at the stockyards—strain your neck at a lot of fake stars
in the Planetarium.
Then go back where you came from and say—
"I've seen Chicago."
You see Chicago!
If you want to see Chicago you've got to get out of your car
and go in and see Chicago.
You've got to get close to her—close enough to see under her
powder.
Let Chicago show you Chicago.
Sleep in her flop houses—shout at her worker's meetings—pray
in her mission houses.
Swear with her—sweat with her—beg with her—sob with
her—
Laugh her hopeless laugh with her.
Then you might know Chicago.

MARTIN GARDNER

Jane Wilson—Prostitute

Jane Wilson was a textile worker. She was 24 and would have been fair to look upon except that long hours in a southern sweat shop had made her very thin and her eyes were a bit sunken. Some weeks, she made \$6, but company insurance clipped 25c off that pay check and of course she was required to trade at the company stores. Jane had to buy a lot of drugs—things for the chest—for she had a slight cough. Not a loud cough but a cough just the same that kept her clearing her throat and coughing in a low sound... a sound that denoted danger ahead.

Jane was going to the mill when Big Tom Simpson, who worked down the road a few miles at the coal mine. Jim had come to Alabama from way up in Vermont to take charge of a mining outfit when labor trouble started. Jim was just the sort of a chap to handle laborers. The mine was to be operated without unionizing and Big Jim, already famous for his work among New England textile workers, was dispatched to the deep south to carry out some of his well known labor plans.

"Well, if it isn't my little Jane Wilson," Big Jim boomed in a Yankee dialect. "Mighty glad to see you... say, have you heard the big news? Burned a Nigger down on Owl Creek last night—say these southern folk sure get warmed up when something happens to one of their women... I'll bet the 'coon' never touched that woman... probably some white man pushed her over."

There was a sad look on Jane's face. She was so tired... so weary.

"Jim," she said in a pleading manner as the big mine boss started away. "You promised me, you know... well, the kid has already been born—a boy and I named him Jim for you... ain't youh goin' to marry me?"

For an instant Big Jim was silent. Then he smiled. "Say if I start marrying all these girls that 'get kids' I'll soon have a harem... sorry, Jane, can't do anything about it."

Jane went her way. Back in her two-room shack by a creek that ran near the edge of the hill, her six-months' old child was sick... sick from undernourishment.

Then a dark day came. The mill closed. Jane, hollowed eyed and sick at soul, took her baby in her arms and just started down the road. She hitch-hiked, walked and begged her way to Dallas. One night as Jane sat hungry, cold and alone in an upstairs hotel rocking her baby, Jane reached a decision. She was good to look upon... a little more food and a little more face powder and cream and she would be all right.

Jane whispered things to men. Now it wasn't hard to make \$6 a day instead of a week. Money came easily... easily as compared to the textile mill days. More food and the cough was subdued. The baby was placed under the care of a specialist and developed into a child with robust health. Meanwhile the mother in scarlet held her secret.

Perhaps that is why Jane Wilson advised a lot of textile workers... cafe waitresses and underpaid secretaries and department store clerks to become prostitutes. She argued that it is easy to be a lady on a full stomach but hell to go straight if you have just been fired and haven't anything to keep you company but a hungry baby.

WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

To The Persecuted

Ah, you unfortunate being troubled by pain,
If your body is weak by over-work,
Do like the dry tree: flower!
And like the buried germ, Arise!

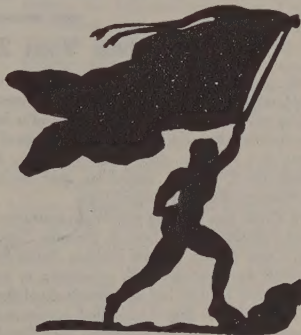
Arise, breath, Shout, March, Struggle,
Vibrate, undulate, thunder, light...
Do like the river with the rain: grow!
And like the sea against the rocks: strike!

From the tempest's furies push,
Don't bleat like a sad sheep,
But roar like a beast roars.

Arise! Agitate, Resist!
Do like the bull when corralled, bellow!
Or do like the ox that doesn't even roar: Strike!

JULIO FERNANDO.

(Translation by L. Raymond.)



The Prisoner To The Slave

From my cell I look back on the world—from my cell,
And think I am not the less free
Than the serf and the slave who in misery dwell
In the street and the lane and the lea.

What fetters have I that ye have not as well,
Though your dungeon be larger than mine?
For England's a prison fresh modeled from hell,
And the jailor's are weakness and crime.

In my cell, in my cell!—Yet I should not repine
Tho' lying in Solitude's lap;
These walls will all crumble, far sooner than time
Can raze them by siege and by sap.

They may shut out the sky—they may shut out the light
With barriers and ramparts they raise;
But the glory of knowledge shall pierce in despite,
With the sun of its shadowless days.

They may stifle the tongue with their silencing rules,
They may crush us with cord and with block;
But oppression and force are the folly of fools,
That breaks upon constancy's rock.

They shall hear us again on the moorland and hill,
Again in street, valley and plain;
They may beat us once more—but we'll rush at them still
Again—and again—and again!

HELEN B. S. LENNONS.

* * *

Preferences

As there are those who sing of war and military glory
The newer poet chants the splendor of the vast machine,
The steady march of progress and the never-ending story
Of wonders harvested from fields where men of science glean:
But both of these, I fear, are destined to destruction by
The powers whose might they cry.

I choose to sing my song to praise the gently-rolling stream,
The meadow which no season leaves without a blossom's gleam,
The cottage in the countryside that has no rental worth,
The soft caress, the tender kiss, the passionate embrace—
Aware that none of these will shake the pillars of the earth
Nor re-create the race.

Though this be true, my egoism fears so much the cost
Of overwhelming and unmeasured forces, unrestrained
(And what to me, or those I love, are outer triumphs gained
If in the triumph we ourselves confess our selves are lost?)
That I have no intention to enlist as one who sings
Of these colossal things.

(English version by George Hedley.)

E. ARMAND.

The Evolutionist

I know not of a thousand creeds,
Which one is right,
A child in midnight gloom and darkness lost,
I seek the light.

I only know that nothing is today

As yesterday:

The whole world changes, and I too evolve

In my own way.

VERNE DEWITT ROWELL.

Defiance

You brand the youth whose face is smeared with grime
And sweat "a worthless bit of human slime"
Whose place should be the gutter where all dirt
And filth is swept. White-collared fool, the time
Has come and now he grasps the hand of crime
Who deals with you in manners brutal, crude.

Despair, fatigue made him become alert
And watch for any means to staunch his hurt
That is a defeated dream he built at school
Which you tin gods of industry convert
Into a blasted wreck that will assert
Itself no more. Beware, you foetid fool!

Youth walks the highway now. His mind once cool
Is seething. Nights are spent beside a pool
In cursing, hating, having lost all sight
Of beauty. Days will find him as a rule
Quite cowed by you who sit upon your stool
And shout out "No!" which shatters hope and light.

The youth grows bitter. Life which once looked bright
Is sordid. Hatred adds its searing blight
That goads him on to deeds that chill the spine
Which finds a cunning ally in the night
That aides the criminal and hides his flight
From laws of prudes who are so asinine.

He sinks into that quagmire of filthy swine
Which long ago has ceased to gripe and whine
But takes its vengeance through its life of lust,
Of theft, and darker crimes which warp a fine
And noble mind with syphilitic brine
That creates pervers, objects of disgust.

You dolts, you have betrayed your alleged trust!
Your sin is greater, taints fore than the rust
Of their black felonies. Today you flirt
With ruin. Tomorrow death, that blackened crust
You merit, revolution's hand will thrust
In your plate and leave you in the gutter inert!

ROBERT L. DARK, JR.

* * *

Ancestral Voices

I will curse and swear, I will profanate man
Who is always on my feet
Hurting my corns, scratching my shoes,
Trying to get my seat
In trolleys, on the street
Pushing me off in the ditch if he can,
In home or club collecting dues
Whose

Nobody knew since the world began,
Grabbing the homestead my grandfathers cleared and cherished,
Nipponizing those who were not lucky to have perished.
I will curse and swear, I will strike man dumb
Alive and after death.

But now my blasphemy turns to jargon,
A lingo colorless as argon—
My only words are a shiboleth
That I learned at my grandmother's feet,
A sesame making me one of the clan,
And I grow but the more cliché.
For as men shoot men down and fascitize,
I yell "Shoot, shoot, shoot," also and look for the whites of
their eyes.

Code me a tetragrammaton!

If it snarls my tongue, that is my affair.

I will shout it aloud as my lexicon—

Just give me the word to swear.

Ancestral voices then, maybe, I shall hear everywhere no more,
From Babel even heard, all prophesying war,
As now, all prophesying war!

ARTHUR E. DUBOIS.

The Girl Who Makes Songs

She was tall and strong;
Her eyes were calm as though seeing things far away—
She was like one listening to something faint and distant.
"I'm writing a song," she said.

"It won't be finished for three years;
That's when he gets out of the pen.

That's why I'm sorry the 'laws' shot Slyde and Bonnie,
And why I hated it when they caught Raymond Hamilton,
And that's the reason why I feel sorry for all men everywhere
Who are dodging the law or who are caged up by the law."

Swing and sing, sing and swing.

It's winter now, but it'll be spring;

There's a road to be made, and the law must be paid—

Swing and sing, sing and swing.

The courts gave her sweetheart five years;
He was sent up for breaking into a store,
Which was in violation of the statutes "made and provided."
Though she had done nothing "against the peace and
The law took five years from her life, too,
Dignity of the State."

Every day, the law is taking years from mothers, sisters, sweet-
hearts and wives whose crime is loving some man.

I guess there's nothing can be done about it.

As he toils down there near the sea

Does he sing her unfinished symphony,

And thinks of the girl, to a woman grown,

Who waits to sing for him alone,

The last glad verses when, again, he's free?

BOYCE HOUSE

A LETTER FROM SPAIN

The discussion is still going on, men want to know if it is true or not that the anarchist-syndicalists of the "C. N. T." have taken part in the recent electoral campaign. Yet, any one who has his eyes open has formed his own opinion on the matter.

The declaration made by **Liberto Caleja** and **Ascaso**, both prominent officials of the "C. N. T." to a Madrid newspaper, do not leave room for any doubt.

They stated: "In the elections, the masses voted for the freedom of political prisoners, they voted for the revolution and not for the new platforms of the left-wing party." Adding that they were pleased to be able to say that during the electoral campaign the "C. N. T." had gained 18,000 new members due to a pact they had made with the socialists; and that from the pact day on, they could no longer see any obstacle to the realization of the syndicalist union between the National Confederation of Labor, "C. N. T."—anarchist-syndicalist—and the General Workers' Union, a socialist organization. All these facts can be read in the newspapers of March 7th; and if you think unbelievable that men could expect the revolution to jump out of the ballot box through the union of syndicalists and the socialists, realize that the said article was written from the declaration of two anarchists.

But listen now to what took place in Saragozza. At a meeting organized by the Local Federation of United Syndicalists, the speakers enthusiastically expressed themselves in favor of a proletarian dictatorship; they stated that the present government was only transitory, and nothing but a spring-board for the workers and peasants dictators to reach their aim. For, said they, that is what the masses wanted when they voted for the left-wing party.

Now, you will ask: "But what do you expect from the 'C. N. T.'?" Indeed, nothing is to be expected from that labor body. From 1931 till today, the "C. N. T." has given ample proofs that its revolutionary efficiency was a blank. No one could contradict us when we repeat that the insurrection of Figols, January 8th and December 10th, 1933, was due to the anarchists of the Iberian Anarchist Federation. The "C. N. T." took no part in these rebellious attempts and even publicly acknowledged these facts.

Again, in *Solidaridad Obrera* published in Barcelona as the official paper of the "C. N. T." appeared a memorandum to be presented to the first of May convention. In this memorandum they bewail the behavior of the Iberian Anarchist Federation, Spanish anarchist papers, international anarchist movement, all of which, said the document, would not consider, nor publish a certain appeal for international revolutionary help in order to prepare an insurrection in Spain.

This is truly the limit! The "C. N. T." who refused to intervene, to show any solidarity in anarchist movements, not even in the popular rebellion of 1934; the "C. N. T." whose members were so completely abandoned by their leaders, and in such a shameful way that the latter had to resign at once; the same fellows, who for some reason as we can see, re-entered the officialdom and the press of the organization, today, rebuke those who did the fighting on every occasion.

Surely, we cannot deny that we deal here with syndicalists, men who often absolutely ignore the most elementary idea of anarchy. And this explains the staggering steps of the organization.

Today everybody is exalting their own—electoral—strength. That's only comprehensible. The Catalan left-wing party has again found the hundred thousand majority votes they had gained with the help of the syndicalists on April 14th, 1931; majority votes which they lost at the 1933 election. However, it must be observed that more than 300,000 Spanish voters didn't go to the ballot box; politicians are not deceiving the whole population of Spain.

Here, we have to record that if the amnesty was granted in

fact, it was for the reason that after voting for it the masses went and opened all prison gates, sacrificing plenty of their blood, and losing many victims. In doing so the matter was no longer a ballot box victory. The leaders of the Confederation assured us that they, as an army, were soon in the street to materialize the electoral victory. But what is the use to vote when to materialize the objective in view it is also necessary to fight in the street? Note that through the rebellion the masses not only gained concessions from the left-wing rulers, but they also gained concessions from the reactionary governmental authorities.

Well, in regard to the rebellion, in Alicante, according to some reports, a military reactionary attempt had been suppressed by some of the soldiers who shot down a few officers. While near Murcia, the civil guard had fired at the masses killing 14 persons.

The government denied these facts as well as others, and ashamed of the republican electoral victory, they maintained the silence.

Yet the new theoreticians of the domesticated and converted syndicalism and anarchism give us to understand that the left-

wing ballot box victory is a revolutionary weapon in the hands of the masses; the truth is that in cold facts, it is nothing but the safety and security valve of the capitalist state.

And the main thought of this new victorious government is to build barracks for "civil guards" and soldiers. If they hint at a solution to the agrarian problem—a feign without which no regime could dream of stabilizing itself in Spain—it is only to create a class of small and large land-owners; the masses at large remaining under the lash of unemployment and hunger, while capital and capitalist look for a secure refuge beyond the boundaries.

Furthermore, the highest meaning of the left wing ballot box victory is this: it scared the capitalists, but does not improve a bit the workers' conditions; it spurs on the enemies to exasperation and revenge and leaves the masses without the material and spiritual means to defend themselves.

To conclude we say that it is painful to see people who call themselves libertarian be carried away by a politics of destruction, an incomprehension so much diffused.

TRANQUILLO.
Barcelona, March 9th, 1936.
(L'Adunata dei Refrattari)

(Trans. by J. S.)

Nina Van Zandt Spies Dies At 74

The death of **Nina Van Zandt Spies**, widow of August Spies, young German-American editor, hanged November 11th, 1887, is a loss to the labor movement not only of a lovable and well known character, but of a living personification of the ideals of the Haymarket Martyrs. She died Thursday, April 9th. At her request, the I. W. W. buried her near her husband in Waldheim cemetery, Monday, April 13th.

Nina Van Zandt was a young well-to-do graduate of Vassar in 1886 when August Spies, Albert R. Parsons, George Engel, Louis Lingg, Oscar Neebe, Samuel Fielden, Adolf Fischer and Michael Schwab were charged with conspiracy to murder and held in the old Cook County jail with hundreds of their friends. They were there because they had called a protest meeting in the old Haymarket Square, on Randolph near Desplains, over the action of the police in shooting pickets at the McCormick Reaper works. It was an orderly meeting, with Mayor Carter H. Harrison present. Shortly before it was due to adjourn, a sprinkle of rain began to fall. The police attacked the meeting. Someone threw a bomb, and the Haymarket Martyrs, those who had arranged for or spoken at the meeting, were charged with conspiracy to murder on the ridiculous legal contortion that if they had not called the meeting the police would not have been there to get killed.

Nina Van Zandt's mother was the welfare worker in the jail. Her father was a wealthy chemist in Philadelphia. She got interested in the men, surprised to find them vastly different from the horrendous descriptions given in the daily press. In particular she was interested in the fiery young German editor, August Spies. Collaborating with him she produced his memorable Autobiography. Impressed with his ideals, she astonished the world by marrying him shortly before he was hanged.

Throughout the years she has been carrying on the unfinished business of August Spies and his fellow workers in the quest for more justice, more freedom, and more of the good things of life. Like Lucy Parsons, the sole surviving widow now of the Haymarket Martyrs, who helped found the I. W. W. in 1905, much of her effort has been given through this organization, although, since she was not a wage worker, she was not entitled to membership.

She often said that it was not merely because the I. W. W. made its annual pilgrimage to Waldheim and honored the Haymarket eight-hour fighters every May and November, that she so loved the I. W. W., but that this was the organization that was attempting to finish the splendid work they had begun. October 9th of last year she wrote:

"Dear Comrade Velek: Your kind and cordial invitation to speak at the Memorial Meeting for the Martyrs on November 10th has been accepted by me with great pleasure. It really touched my heart, because I always considered the I. W. W. as my own organization. Life is uncertain. I never quite realized how much so until now. I narrowly escaped being burned alive in a bus accident coming from Toledo last Friday night. This made me remember that I promised my remains to the I. W. W. when I die... I shall write a definite outline of what I want the comrades to do after I 'pass out.' Please just note that I desire you good people to bury me in Waldheim Cemetery. This is all for the present. I hope to live to add my bit to the Memorial Meeting.

Cordially and fraternally yours—NINA SPIES."

She added her bit to the Memorial Meeting as she had many times before, taking every opportunity to make it clear to all who would hear that the Haymarket Protest Meeting was not a riot, but an orderly meeting attacked by police, and that the men who were hanged were innocent of the charge.

Sunday afternoon, April 12th, in the Bricklayers' Hall, a Memorial Service was held with representatives of many labor bodies participating. E. F. Stattman of the I. W. W. presided, and among the speakers were Lucy Parsons, Nina's old friend since the stirring days of 1886, D. W. Dwyer of the Connolly Club, Arthur Hopkins of the Young Recruit, Albert Goldman of the Socialist Party, Ben Reitman, Nina Spies' close friend and physician, Irving S. Abrams of the Free Society Group, Vera Busch of the Communist League of Struggle, Dr. Alderton of Chicago Theological Seminary, Schoenfeld, an eye witness to the Haymarket Tragedy, Herman Gaul of the Plebian Forum, Dan Horsely and Fred W. Thompson of the I. W. W. After the memorial service, which was well attended as evidence of the general sympathy with Nina Spies and her

life-long efforts, the entire body paraded to the undertaking parlors.

Nine Spies was buried on Monday, April 13th. The funeral procession leaving Beaumont Undertaking Parlors went by way of the scene of the old Haymarket Square, where all stopped in silent tribute to the great fighters of fifty years ago and then went on to Waldheim. A short ceremony was held at the grave with Ralph Chaplin and Irving Abrams speaking.

(INDUSTRIAL WORKER.)

(Glad as *MANI* is to reprint in full the above account from the "Industrial Worker," it regrets deeply the seemingly obvious omission that August Spies as well as George Engels, Samuel Fielden, Adolph Fischer, Albert R. Parsons and Louis Lingg were judicially murdered principally because of their outspoken anarchist beliefs and activities.—EDITOR.)

Don't ask f'r rights. Take them. An' don't let anny wan give them to ye. A right that is handed to ye f'r nawthin' has somethin' the matter with it. It's more than likely it's on'y a wrong turned inside out.

—MR. DOOLEY.

Announcements

DECORATION DAY WEEK END—May 29, 30, and 31

The yearly educational conference of the Modern School of Stelton, N. J., will take place on Friday evening, May 29, Saturday, May 30, and Sunday, May 31, at the Modern School Auditorium, Stelton, New Jersey.

The main topic for discussion this year will be the "Radical and His Child or Freedom in Education."

After many years of the existence of the Modern School and its principle of freedom for the child, the educational world is beginning to realize its importance and is commencing to practice it and recognize it as an important factor in the development of the child.

Several educators in this field will lead the discussion. A report of our educational work with children will be given. Comrades and friends are asked to reserve this date.

SALLY G. AXELROD, Secy. Committee.

INSTITUTE FOR THE STUDY OF ANARCHISM

The Kropotkin group of Stelton, New Jersey, is organizing a summer institute for the study of anarchism.

To carry on the propaganda for our ideal we need the young generation in our ranks and the youth must be well grounded in the theoretical basis of anarchism. This institute is organized for the purpose of having round table discussions and try in the form of study groups to understand the various phases of anarchist thought.

The institute will be arranged in two-week periods. Anyone who wants to take this course will have to stay at Stelton two weeks and become a student.

The tentative program as worked out by the committee is the following:

1. The History of the American Labor Movement.
2. Schools of Anarchist Thought.
 - a. Individualism.
 - b. Communism.
 - c. Syndicalism.
 - d. Trade Unions and Co-operatives and their role in the revolutionary movement.
3. Anarchist Influence in Art and Literature.
4. Child Education.
5. Philosophy of History.
6. Current Trends in the Labor Movement.
7. Dictatorship of the Proletariat.
8. History of the International Anarchist Movement.
9. The Anarchist Position in the Modern World.

These subjects will each take up a few days of study. Further announcements will be made as to fees and accommodations. The course will begin Friday evening, July 11th, at the Kropotkin Library, Stelton, New Jersey.

For further information write to ANNA SOSNOVSKY, Ferrer Colony, Stelton, New Jersey.

Every so often, when the country gets the economic jitters and begins looking for a convenient scapegoat, the cry goes up for the deportation squad to get busy hunting down the dangerous alien in our midst. The alien is usually pictured as a Red, an anarchist, a man with a bomb in his pocket, an incompetent who doesn't want to work and, paradoxically, a cuckoo that is out to steal a place in the nest of native American labor, and, worst of all, an utter stranger to the national institution of the safety razor. Heines, wops and micks, let 'em go back where they came from! They aren't supposed to like it here, anyway. So vamoose, skedaddle, raus! Who let you in, any way?

—JOHN CHAMBERLAIN.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(From March 15 to April 15)

Income	\$168.65
Expenditures	140.45
Deficit from last issue	16.08

Income	\$168.65
Total Expenditures	156.53

Balance	\$ 12.12
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(Included in above Statement from Groups)

Providence, R. I., \$15.00; Haverill, Mass., \$3.00; Avella, Pa., \$5.00; Pittston, Pa., \$10.00; Irvington, N. J., \$17.75; A. C. W. of America, Newark, N. J., \$5.00; Rand Book Store of New York City, \$8.40; New Haven, Conn., \$6.00; Los Angeles, Cal., \$30.82; Brooklyn, N. Y., \$3.75; San Francisco, Cal., \$18.15.

Groups or individuals wishing to distribute sample copies of *MANI* at affairs or gatherings are asked to notify us at least two weeks in advance of the date that they will need same, also the amount of copies.

Books reviewed in *MANI* can always be obtained through *MANI*!

A complete file of *MANI* for the first three years will be sent postpaid anywhere for two dollars.

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